

they call it the JOBS bill; I will call it the JOBS bill. It is a way of kind of diverting our attention away from the real jobs problem, but it is a jobs bill. I acknowledge that. But that is what we are faced with here.

The same good defense is being used offensively here because my dear friend, the Senator from Missouri, has come to the floor and said: The Democrats won't let us do our highway bill.

I have here—and I am not going to bring out all three charts, but they are here—oh, I am sorry, we couldn't get them on three—there are four charts of the 390-plus organizations that are saying: We agree with the Democrats. We should not go to conference. They want \$318 billion in funding.

Now, why don't the Democrats want to vote on this? Are we being partisan? Maybe we have memories. Maybe we can reflect back on what happened to the Energy bill. We went to conference with the Energy bill. We not only were not allowed to go to the conference, we did not know where the conference meetings were held.

Medicare. We also remember that. We at least knew where the meetings were held because the Republicans told us: You can have two people. We asked others to come to the meeting. They closed the meetings. That is not what a conference is all about.

Yes, we do have memories. And through all this: Oh, they won't let us do a highway bill. They are filibustering.

If a conference were appointed 5 minutes from now, what would happen is what we want to happen. If a conference were appointed 5 minutes from now, we would have the staffs of the Senate—majority and minority—meet to decide what actually should be done. It would be easy because it is a bipartisan bill. Then we would go over and meet with our counterparts in the House, and the staffs would meet.

This is a big bill. It would take weeks, at least 2 solid weeks, with 20-hour-a-day, 6-day weeks, to get us to that point. They will not let us do that. The majority will not allow the staffs to meet on this bill. For people to say the only way to do a bill is to have this conference is foolishness—foolishness. We have passed lots of bills, in fact, scores of bills without going to conference. We have something we call a preconference, and it is just as I described would happen following the appointment of conferees.

So we understand, if we were working with an administration like this that is so unreasonable, so impossible to deal with, and I were in the majority, and I had a President like they were dealing with, I would probably come out and do the same thing. It is all they can do. They are desperate. But we have the necessity of coming up with legislation that is truly legislation that is good for the country, not necessarily good for the President's reelection.

ACCOUNTABILITY FOR OUR ACTIONS

Mr. REID. Madam President, I want to read the first two paragraphs of an editorial that appeared in the New York Times today, written by Thomas Friedman.

We are in danger of losing something much more important than just the war in Iraq. We are in danger of losing America as an instrument of moral authority and inspiration in the world. I have never known a time in my life when America and its president were more hated around the world than today. I was just in Japan, and even young Japanese dislike us. It's no wonder that so many Americans are obsessed with the finale of the sitcom "Friends" right now. They're the only friends we have, and even they're leaving.

This administration needs to undertake a total overhaul of its Iraq policy; otherwise, it is courting a total disaster for us all.

I have been married for more than four decades, and there have been a lot of things that I think have made our marriage a success. I married a girl I met in high school. The main thing that has been good for our marriage is the ability for both of us to say "I'm sorry."

Relations in other aspects of our lives are based on the same principles of relationship that couples have. For example, the foundations of nations, of countries are formed by relationships between people.

When I got home last night, my wife said words to me to the effect: I watched all the news today. Why couldn't the President say he was sorry?

I had no answer for that. I flipped on the television set. The first two people I saw on TV interviewing others asked the same question: Why couldn't the President say he was sorry. Why couldn't the President say he was sorry, not only for himself but for all Americans? This is expected in America.

I guess he couldn't say he was sorry for the same reason that in his last press conference he couldn't say he had made a mistake. I add this to the list of mistakes that are paramount, No. 1, when he claimed on the aircraft carrier, with his flight suit that he borrowed from somebody, that major combat was over, and had the banner "mission accomplished." The mission was not accomplished. He should have acknowledged that as a mistake. Then just a few days later, when someone said there are problems going on in Iraq, he said: "Bring it on." Well, we have almost 800 dead men and women. I think that was a mistake.

It was a mistake yesterday when he had the time and the ability to say he was sorry. I don't have the position and power of the President of the United States; I know that. But I have the ability to say that all America is sorry for what went on in the prisoner of war camps in Iraq. What went on in those prison camps does not represent America or its valiant military men and women.

We have so many reasons to be proud of what our Armed Forces have done for this country, not just over the last couple of years but since our founding. We are reminded of that heroic service as we look out on The Mall. We are going to dedicate in a couple of weeks a memorial to the 16 million men and women who served in World War II. On Memorial Day, during that dedication, we will not only remember the 16 million who served but the nearly 800 who have lost their lives in Iraq.

One of the hallmarks of our military in this great democracy is that our military is controlled not by soldiers, sailors, and airmen, but by civilians. We maintain this critical feature of our system with checks and balances by having a Commander in Chief who is a civilian. The Secretary of Defense and his deputies are civilians, so these remarks are directed to the civilian leadership of our military.

Harry Truman was a war President. He had a sign on his desk that said, "The buck stops here." He knew that in any administration there would be mistakes, and he accepted responsibility for mistakes that occurred on his watch.

President Truman knew it was important to admit mistakes and take responsibility so the mistakes would not be repeated. He knew if we didn't admit mistakes, we couldn't learn from them.

The current administration has made some mistakes, and I have outlined some of them. We know in the first gulf war 90 percent of the war costs were paid for by other countries, and our allies provided about 200,000 troops. But in this war we are bearing 90 percent of the cost and taking 90 percent of the casualties. They said Iraqi oil revenues would pay to rebuild the country, but we keep appropriating more money and are being asked to come up with \$25 billion more.

Vice President CHENEY predicted that our soldiers would be greeted as heroes, bouquets would be thrown. Bombs are being thrown instead. We are now hearing that the administration received warnings about the treatment of prisoners months ago, but those warnings were not taken seriously.

Last week, when Secretary Rumsfeld was in the Capitol in 407, the room where we hear classified information, we weren't told that "60 Minutes" that very night would have a story about mistreatment of prisoners, with pictures of naked men, Iraqi prisoners, to humiliate them. Now it has humiliated America. We should have been warned about that. They knew or should have known that they were about to become public and that they would affect the course of events in the ongoing war on terror. After the civilian leadership has claimed for months that it needed no more money, we are now asked for \$25 billion.

This is not to cast stones but to cast responsibility. Mistakes always have consequences. In war, the consequences are a matter of life or death. We talk in

the Senate about accountability. We want schoolteachers and public employees to be accountable. But we must look beyond that at why our civilian military should also be held accountable.

Our Founding Fathers believed that the civilian leaders of our military should be held accountable. I share that belief. I hope the President does.

The time has been allocated to my friends. Senator KOHL has 5 minutes; Senator FEINGOLD, 8 minutes; Senator KENNEDY, 5 minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Wisconsin.

RESTORING JUVENILE JUSTICE FUNDING

Mr. KOHL. Madam President, I rise today to discuss juvenile crime and juvenile crime prevention programs. We must remember that a strategy to combat juvenile crime consists of a large dose of prevention programs as well as strong enforcement. Juvenile justice programs have proven time and time again that they help prevent crime, strengthen communities, and give children a second chance to succeed and lead healthy lives. It is no secret that robust funding for these programs in the 1990s contributed to a 68 percent drop in juvenile crime from 1994 to 2000. Most importantly, investment in our at-risk children will help prevent a life marred by crime and wasted in prison.

For these programs to succeed, however, they must be priorities for this Congress and for this administration. We fear that we are failing to live up to our responsibility on this essential issue. A little more than 3 months ago, President Bush released his fiscal year 2005 budget proposal. In it, juvenile justice and delinquency programs will receive only about one-third of the funding they received 3 years ago. This is at a time when recent statistics indicate an uptick in juvenile crime and an increase in school murder rates.

We understand that other priorities compete with juvenile justice funding and local crime prevention programs. Yet the amounts we are discussing are so small in the grand scheme of the budget, and the results from the programs so immense, that they mandate our attention.

When the Senate considered the budget resolution, we began to address the shortfalls in juvenile justice funding. I was pleased to work with Senators HATCH and BIDEN on an amendment to restore cuts made to juvenile justice programs and local law enforcement funding. Our amendment represents a step in the right direction by restoring juvenile justice funding to last year's levels, and reversing the trend of ever-diminishing appropriations for these programs. It is essential that the Kohl-Hatch-Biden amendment that restores juvenile justice funding remain in the final Budget Resolution.

These programs are a wise investment. For every dollar spent on pre-

vention, we save \$3 to \$4 in costs associated with juvenile crime. Furthermore, law enforcement officials strongly support prevention efforts. A recent poll shows that 71 percent of police chiefs, sheriffs and prosecutors believe that crime prevention efforts would have the greatest impact in reducing youth violence and crime. So for those who may fear that a crime prevention strategy is not "tough" enough on juveniles, we suggest that these programs make sound economic sense and are overwhelmingly endorsed by law enforcement. We must do a better job of funding them.

Let me tell you about two essential programs. In 1992, we established the Title V Local Delinquency Prevention Program. Title V was and remains unique in that it is the only source of federal funding solely dedicated to juvenile crime prevention efforts. More importantly, Title V has proven to be a very successful program that encourages investment, collaboration, and long-range prevention planning by local communities.

Title V programs include preschool and parent training programs, youth mentoring, after-school activities, tutoring, truancy reduction, substance abuse prevention and gang prevention outreach. Through these initiatives, large cities like Milwaukee to small communities like Ladysmith, WI are creating environments that strengthen families and help children avoid crime and develop into productive adults.

Enforcement is an important part of the overall strategy, but the administration cuts those programs as well. Positive intervention and treatment at this early stage of delinquency can prevent further violent behavior and steer a young person in the right direction before it is too late. Realizing this, Congress created the Juvenile Accountability Incentive Block Grant Program, JAIBG, in 1997 and provided it with healthy funding levels of \$250 million. Congress reauthorized Title V and JAIBG in 2002 at even greater levels. And we improved JAIBG by adding substance abuse and mental health counseling, restitution, community service, and supervised probations to the list of program options. The reauthorized program also ensures State and local accountability for proper and effective uses of funds.

We have a choice in this Congress of where we want to invest our money. We can choose to address the roots of crime and invest in our children by preventing a life of criminal behavior. We can choose to intervene in a positive manner to work with those teens that have fallen through the cracks and have had a few scrapes with the law. We can turn many of those kids around. I urge my colleagues to make the right choice this year and boost funding for the Title V program, the Juvenile Accountability Block Grant program, and juvenile justice programs overall. We can and must do better.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Wisconsin is recognized.

SUDAN

Mr. FEINGOLD. Mr. President, I rise today to join my colleagues in calling attention to the horrifying crisis in Darfur, a part of western Sudan where over a million people have been displaced by a brutal campaign of ethnic cleansing perpetrated by government-backed militia forces and official Sudanese forces.

Human Rights Watch has documented massacres, widespread rape, massive forced displacement, and indiscriminate aerial bombardment of civilians in Darfur. Amnesty International indicates that the ceasefire agreement signed on April 8 has not stopped the attacks against civilians on the ground, stating that "attacks on villages continue; indiscriminate and deliberate killings of civilians continue; looting continues and rapes continue." Doctors Without Borders, which is actually on the ground delivering services in parts of Darfur, warns of desperate malnutrition and tells us that the absence of food aid on the ground is especially alarming because measles have broken out among the displaced, and measles can seriously aggravate malnutrition.

Because so many homes and farms and mosques and entire villages have been burned and totally destroyed, and because normal life has been so thoroughly disrupted, because fear still dominates the lives of so many civilians, and because the rainy season is beginning—making much of Darfur completely inaccessible by road—literally hundreds of thousands could die of starvation. The humanitarian task before the world would be mammoth even if a major political breakthrough backed by what we have not seen to date—actual effective action taken by the government of Sudan to put a stop to the attacks on civilians. Without such action, the crisis deepens each day.

And even as the government of Sudan has failed to take effective action to stop the attacks and protect the Sudanese people, they also have denied humanitarian organizations and international investigators access to Darfur, deliberately undermining the world's efforts to help those who are suffering and starving. The government's aim appears to be to drive ethnic Africans out of Darfur, and to shield this abhorrent agenda from the eyes of the international community.

It is a disgrace that this same government was just elected to a third term on the United Nations Human Rights Commission. Africans have as great a stake in the commission's work and aims as any people anywhere in the world. They deserve far better representation.

Mr. President, crimes against humanity have been and continue to be perpetrated in Darfur, and the criminals responsible for these atrocities—the planners directing this horror at the highest levels—should be brought to justice.